

Allegory and Reality: Spes, Victoria and the Date of Prudentius's *Psychomachia**

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Prudentius's *Psychomachia*, largely because it was fated to become one of the literary cornerstones of mediaeval allegory, dwells in a historical vacuum. Roesler alone made an unconvincing attempt to interpret the poem as an anti-Priscillianist polemic.¹ The poem's date is considered largely irrelevant, though usually it is thought to have been written before A.D. 405.² For Walther Ludwig, who ingeniously analysed Prudentius's oeuvre as a Christian *Supergedicht* intended to replace the pagan literary genres, the *Psychomachia* is the epic centerpiece of a *corpus* defined by Prudentius's preface. In this paper I shall suggest that, far from being an early work, the *Psychomachia* was written after 405, that it was never part of a total plan, and that through the veil of its allegory we can occasionally glimpse topicalities which may reveal more about the place and date of its composition than has been believed possible. This is a plea for a more historical and political Prudentius than is commonly acknowledged.

Before 405?

Prudentius's preface to his edition of 405 provides a catalogue of his poetry, hence reliable external evidence on what had been written:

Hymnis continet dies
nec nox ulla vacet quin dominum canat
pugnet contra hereses, catholicam discutiat fidem

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¹ A. Roesler, *Der katholischer Dichter Aurelius Prudentius Clemens* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1886). For some criticisms see J. Bergman, *Aur. Prud. Clem. Psychomachia* (diss. Uppsala 1897) xxvi–xxvii.

² See below n. 7. The only clear advocates of a date after A.D. 405 are Bergman (*CSEL* 61, p. xiii) and O. Hofer, *De Prudentii Psychomachia et carminum chronologia* (Marburg 1895) 59 (who, however, also puts the *Hamartigenia* after 405).

conculcet sacra gentium
labem, Roma, tuis inferat idolis,
carmen martyribus devoveat, laudet apostolos.³

Hymnis . . . canat are a clear reference to the *Liber Cathemerinon*. *Pugnet contra hereses* and *catholicam discutiat fidem* seem to cover two apologetic-didactic poems, the *Hamartigenia* on Free Will against the Marcionites and the *Apotheosis* written against various Trinitarian heretics and against the Jews. *Conculcet sacra gentium* alludes to the Romanus-hymn, now printed as *Hymn 10* of the *Peristefanon*, but originally appearing either before or after that work.⁴ *Labem, Roma, tuis inferat idolis* covers the two books *Contra Oratorem Symmachi*, the first an attack on polytheism, the second an attack on the Dea Victoria and Symmachus specifically. *Carmen martyribus devoveat* covers the *Peristefanon* and *laudet apostolos* treats *Peristefanon 12*, the hymn to Peter and Paul, separately.

There have been many attempts to find allusions to the *Psychomachia* in the *praefatio*. Prudentius's place as the preeminent Christian poet demands a deliberate pattern in his work, a *Christian* program in which he intentionally provided counterparts to all the main genres of Classical Poetry. In his *Hymns* he was the Christian Horace. In his *Psychomachia* the Christian Vergil.⁵ The *Psychomachia* had to be in the *praefatio* to have a place in Ludwig's all-encompassing diagram, which depicts the generic structure of Prudentius's oeuvre based on the *praefatio* and places the epic *Psychomachia* as the centerpiece of the whole scheme.⁶ If those who see an allusion to the *Psychomachia* are right, then the *Psychomachia* must have been written before 405. If they are wrong, then the question of the work's date is reopened. Ludwig, following Weyman, detected the reference to the *Psych.* in line 39: *pugnet contra hereses, catholicam discutiat fidem*, which is supposed to allude to the *Apotheosis*, the *Hamartigenia*, and the *Psychomachia*. The *Psychomachia* is encapsulated in *hereses* (the last Vice to be fought) and *Fides* (the first Virtue to fight).⁷ This is very ingenious,

³ *Praef.* 37-42.

⁴ Bergman (above, note 1) xiii.

⁵ Many other genres were covered too: see W. Ludwig, "Die christliche Dichtung des Prudentius und die Transformation der klassischen Gattungen," in *Christianisme et formes littéraires de l'antiquité tardive en occident*, Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique 23 (Vandoeuvres-Genève 1977) 304-05.

⁶ Ludwig (previous note) 310, "Das erzählende mythologische Epos hatte immer den obersten Rang in der poetischen Hierarchie der Römer. Dies war zumindest ein wichtiger Grund weshalb Prudentius seine *Psychomachia* in das Zentrum seines christlichen Supergedichts setzte."

⁷ C. Weyman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie* (München 1926) 65-66; Ludwig (above, note 5) 316. "Die *Praefatio* brauchte nicht explizit auf die *Psychomachia* zu verweisen, weil diese ihrerseits eine allegorische Verschlüsselung der vier Lehren darstellt und damit implizit in einem Hinweis auf jene bereits enthalten ist." For a pre-1895 history of the interpretation of the "table of contents," see Hocfer (above, note 2) 48. J. Fontaine, *Naissance*

but probably not right. If Prudentius had mentioned his *Psychomachia* here, he would have listed it as an *antiheretical* work: little is said about heresy in the poem.⁸ Secondly all sorts of subtleties are detected in this one line, whereas all the other references to Prudentius's work in the *praefatio* are *fully expanded* and completely straightforward. As in other ancient poetic catalogues⁹ at least a phrase is devoted to each work. There is no need for temporising:¹⁰ the *Psychomachia* was not mentioned in the preface.

There is no need for distress, for at least two other works of Prudentius were not mentioned either, and are not—for that reason—stricken from the book of literary history.¹¹ At the end of the 5th century Gennadius of Marseilles in his continuation of Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, wrote an article listing the oeuvre of Prudentius¹²:

Prudentius vir saeculari litteratura eruditus composuit †Dirocheum de toto Veteri et Novo Testamento personis excerptis. Commentatus est autem in morem Graecorum Hexaemeron de mundi fabrica usque ad conditionem primi hominis et praevaricationem eius. Composuit et libellos quos Graeca appellatione praetitulavit ΑΡΩΤΗΕΩΣΙΣ ΨΙΧΟΜΑΧΙΑ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΓΕΝΙΑ, id est, De divinitate, De Compugnantia animi, De origine peccatorum. Fecit et in laudem martyrum sub aliquorum nominibus invitorum ad martyrium librum unum et hymnorum alterum, speciali autem conditione adversum Symmachum idolatriam defendentem. Ex quorum lectione agnoscitur Palatinus miles fuisse.

The so-called *Διτροχάϊον* or *Tituli Historiarum* to which he alludes has survived. The *Hexaemeron* is now lost. Neither of these works, however, appeared in Prudentius's preface. Presumably the edition of 405 was not a complete one. Prudentius's tone of finality¹³ suggests that at that time he may have thought that this was all he would write, but reality was different. More was to follow.

de la poésie dans l'occident chrétien (Paris 1981) 149 n. 246 is agnostic, "l'absence d'une allusion vraiment claire à la *Psychomachia*."

⁸ M. Brozek, "De Prudentii praefatione carminibus praefixa," in *Forschungen zur römischen Literatur, FS zum 60 Geburtstag von Karl Büchner*, ed. W. Wimmel, I (Wiesbaden 1970) 33 n. 13.

⁹ Compare the Pseudo-Vergilian proem to the *Aeneid* and Ovid, *Am.* 2. 18 for a catalogue of the *Heroides*.

¹⁰ See the curious remarks of J. Fontaine on the topic: *Naissance* (above, note 7) 149 n. 246 maintains an agnostic position, "l'absence d'une allusion vraiment claire à la *Psychomachia*;" *ibid.* 206 "L'oeuvre n'est qu'impliquée, mais elle est peut-être omniprésente, dans le programme de la *Préface*;" *ibid.* 207 "Elle répond d'abord aux besoins d'un temps et d'un lieu précis. Elle exprime la mentalité et le goût de l'âge théodosien."

¹¹ Ludwig (above, note 5) 303 had deliberately excluded the *Tituli Historiarum* from his scheme, but did not account for the lost *Hexaemeron*.

¹² Gennadius, *Vir.* III. 13.

¹³ *Praef.* 34 *fine sub ultimo*.

The Prudentius tradition is largely dependent on five MSS, two date from the 6th century, three from the 9th century. A, the Puteanus,¹⁴ is a 6th century composite MS. It lacks the preface,¹⁵ and the epilogue but includes the *Tituli Historiarum*. The same is true of B, MS Ambros. D. 36 Sup. The main 9th century MSS, T,¹⁶ E,¹⁷ and S¹⁸ have the preface, epilogue and the *Tituli Historiarum*. Thus our MSS do not descend from an archetype that was Prudentius's own collected edition of 405. Even the 6th century MSS are miscellanies, a fact which indicates that ancient book-collectors had to put together "complete Prudentius" from various sources.

Thus we must reconstruct at least a 3-stage early history of Prudentius's text. Some of his works, written before 405, were published independently. The *Cathemerinon*, at least, must have appeared twice, since codices that have the preface before the *Cathemerinon* all have certain *Bindefehler* in the *Cathemerinon*.¹⁹ It was this first edition of *Cath.* minus the preface that descended to A and B. The edition of 405 was put out by the author, contained the preface and probably the epilogue, but not the *Psychomachia*, *Ditt.* or the *Hexaemeron*.²⁰ Finally an expanded edition (or separate editions) appeared after 405. It included the *Ditt.*, *Psychomachia*, *Preface*, *Epilogue*, and gave rise, eventually, to TES, the 9th century MSS. Whether this edition contained the *Hexaemeron* or not is unclear. This work was lost sometime after the late 5th century.

The *Psychomachia* does not appear in the *praefatio*. The collection we have is not a complete edition of his work designed by Prudentius. This preface was written for some sort of edition, but not for all the works we have. The *Psychomachia*, as well as various other works, could well have been written after A.D. 405. So if the *Psychomachia* was not necessarily written before 405 when does it belong? We may now turn to the internal evidence.

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One problem in interpreting the *Psychomachia* has been the very fact that it *is* an allegory. Allegories are considered universally comprehensible abstractions bearing the signs of their own interpretation like the personified *Artes* on a French cathedral portal. But allegorical narrative is often more

¹⁴ Paris, B. N. lat. 8084.

¹⁵ M. P. Cunningham, "Some Facts About the Puteanus of Prudentius," *TAPA* 89 (1958) 32-33 corrects Bergman. The first two leaves of the quaternion containing *Cath.* in A are not missing.

¹⁶ Paris, B. N. lat. 8087.

¹⁷ Leiden, Burm. Q. 3.

¹⁸ Sankt Gallen 136.

¹⁹ See Cunningham, *CC* v. 126 p. xi.

²⁰ Bergman (above, note 2) xiii is also of this opinion: "*Ps igitur et D post a. 405 edita videntur.*"

like a cartoon, particularly when it is partially political. The reader needs information in order to interpret the text: one must know the "base-image" in order to interpret the new picture. The *Psychomachia*, unlike some of its later mediaeval imitations, is not a purely moral or psychological allegory of hypostasised human emotions signifying virtues and vices.²¹ Such interpretations come from looking at the work backwards from the Middle Ages. Nor is it a fight between deities and demons, as has more recently been suggested.²² The answer is complicated because it is a very mixed composition: such poetry was still in its *infantia*.

It has been noted that the poem is usually interpreted as if it had no time or place whatsoever.²³ But Prudentius does allude to time in the *Psychomachia*. Glimpses of the poet's own contemporary problems are afforded in realistic details such as the description of the death of *Veterum cultura deorum: difficilemque obitum suspiria longa fatigant*.²⁴ This could serve as an epigraph for the death of paganism. He also saw time in terms of human salvation: he can speak of Judith as a *parum fortis matrona sub umbra / legis adhuc pugnans, dum tempora nostra figurat*.²⁵ He also shows a clear sense that Christians of his day were a *vesperinus populus*.²⁶

But this is not all: one can highlight some *arcas* where Prudentius's historical present may have broken through into the composition of his supposedly universal moral allegory. The central battle of the *Psychomachia*, the fight between Superbia and Mens Humilis aided by Spes, bears remarkable testimony to the versatility of the poet, to his use of books and to his awareness of living issues.

The episode is basically a Vergilian illustration of *Proverbs* 16. 18 "Pride goeth before a fall":²⁷ there are echoes of Numanus's address to the Trojans in *Aen.* 9. 598 ff. in Superbia's taunts. Some aspects of Prudentius's allegory are probably spontaneous imaginative details, such as the Vice's toweringly pretentious Babylonian hairstyle.²⁸ Some illustrate doctrinal points and often actual texts. Superbia, for example, is described

²¹ As in C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (Oxford 1973) 68 ff. and 45 for the initial process of psychological allegorisation.

²² K. R. Haworth, *Deified Virtues, Demonic Vices, and Descriptive Allegory in Prudentius's Psychomachia* (Amsterdam 1980).

²³ Implicitly the *Psych.* is assigned an early date, see Ludwig (above, note 5) 313 "womit wieder an die Bilder der *Psychomachie* erinnert wird . . . and W. Steidle, "Die dichterische Konzeption des Prudentius und das Gedicht contra Symmachum," *Vig. Christ.* 25 (1971) 262 ein Rückbezug auf die *Psychomachie*."

²⁴ *Psych.* 35.

²⁵ *Psych.* 66-67.

²⁶ *Psych.* 376.

²⁷ *Proverbs* 16. 18 *Contritionem praecedat superbia, et ante ruinam exaltatur spiritus.*

²⁸ *Psych.* 183 ff.

as *inflata*:²⁹ she looks like a *superbus*.³⁰ She is puffed up and windy.³¹ Her very clothing billows. Some aspects of this battle may have exegetic origins. *Psalm* 118. 49 ff. in the *Itala*-version juxtaposes *Spes*, *humilitas*, and the *superbi*. One may, with advantage, consider *Psalm* 118. 49–50 *Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo / In quo spem dedisti Haec (Spes) me consolata est in humilitate*³² *mea, quoniam verbum tuum vivificavit me* and also Ambrose's exposition of it:

Haec est Spes, haec quae verbo tuo obvenit mihi, consolata est me, ut tolerarem acerba praesentium . . . Ergo si quis vult adversa superare, si est persecutio, si est periculum, si mors, si aegritudo, si incursio latronum . . . facile superantur, si sit Spes quae consoletur . . . *Humiliatur enim anima nostra dum traditur tentatori, duris examinanda laboribus; ut luctetur et certet, congressum contrariae experiens potestatis.*³³

Verse 51 of the same Psalm refers to the actions of the *superbi*: *superbi agebant nimis; a lege tua non declinavi*. Prudentius was familiar both with Ambrose's famous hymns and with prose works, such as his *Epistles* and the *De Officiis Ministrorum* on which he based a number of his versified martyr-acts.³⁴

David appears as an exemplum (*Psych.* 291 ff.) because the Psalmist was David himself.³⁵ Superbia's description also resembles Goliath's bold challenge of the Israelites (1 *Kings* 17. 18 ff.). The manner of her death is similar. She is beheaded (*Psych.* 282). Like David, *Mens Humilis* has no sword (2 *Kings* 17. 50), and must borrow one from *Spes* (*Psych.* 278): *cunctanti Spes fida comes succurrit et offert / ultorem gladium.*³⁶

So far a brief conspectus of literary allusions. The description of the departure of *Spes* however contains a striking and significant *visual* twist:

Dixit et auratis praestringens aera pinnis³⁷
In caelum se virgo rapit. Mirantur euntem
Virtutes tolluntque animos in vota volentes
Ire simul, ni bella duces terrena retardent.
Confligunt vitiis seque ad sua praemia servant.

The most noticeable feature of this *Spes* is her wings. Even though her first appearance in Hesiod *Op.* 97–98 οὐδὲ θύραζε ἐξέπτη indicates a

²⁹ *Psych.* 178.

³⁰ *Psych.* 182 *tumido . . . fastu*.

³¹ *Ventosa* in *Psych.* 194; note also *volitabat* in *Psych.* 179.

³² Ambrose was using a pre-Vulgate version. The Vulgate here has *in afflictione mea*.

³³ Ambrose, *Expositio in Psalmum CXVIII* (PL 15. 1349–50).

³⁴ See I. Lana, *Due capitoli prudenziani* (Rome 1962) 56.

³⁵ *Psych.* 300 ff. *Me tunc ille puer virtutis pube secutus / florentes animos sursum in mea regna tetendit*.

³⁶ David, instead, used Goliath's own sword (2 *Kings* 17. 50).

³⁷ The passage is an imitation of Ovid, *Met.* 1. 466 *Dixit et eliso percussis aere pennis*, the flight of Amor, itself dependent on *Aen.* 9. 14.

winged creature, and this type seems to be alluded to a few times in Greek texts,³⁸ she is not winged in the Latin world. The standard Spes-type stands with a flower in her raised right hand and with the lowered left hand she holds the hem of her dress.³⁹ There is no question here of a general depiction of winged Virtues: Spes is the only figure with wings in the *Psychomachia*. Prudentius has intentionally given her odd attributes—those of her sister, Victory, whose appearance on a battlefield, even a psychological one, would cause no surprise.⁴⁰

The description of Spes already nonplussed the mediaeval audience. Here the illustrated Prudentius manuscripts carry erroneous illustrations, all clearly dependent on a caption that named the flying goddess "Humilitas" rather than "Spes."⁴¹ Such captions must be dependent on the commentary tradition where *ad Psych.* 305 *aera pennis* is to be found: *Humilitas superatis mundi pompis alas iam meruit unde caelos penetrauit, sed sancta spes cum ceteris virtutibus in hac vita laborans adgemit et ad ipsam pervenire per multas tribulationes apetit.*⁴² It would appear, however, that these illustrations do not descend from any authentic late antique tradition.

Victory herself is not one of the most common figures in Latin poetry. She appears most fleetingly in Vergil.⁴³ She is also to be found in Ovid.⁴⁴ *Am.* 3. 2. 45 *prima loco fertur passis Victoria pinnis* briefly alludes to a statue carried at the races. She is absent from Lucan. More brief references are to be found in Tibullus,⁴⁵ in Statius⁴⁶ and in Silius Italicus.⁴⁷ From a

³⁸ *Anth. Gr.* 7. 420. 1 Ἐλπίδες ἀνθρώπων, ἑλαφραὶ θεαὶ . . . κουφότατοι δαίμονες ἀθανάτων. Lucian, *Merc. Cond.* 42 ἡ δὲ Ἑλπίς τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦτου ἀφανῆς ἀποπτέσθω . . . This depiction is unusual, and is probably directly dependent on Hesiod.

³⁹ See Daremberg-Saglio 4. 2. 1430–31.

⁴⁰ There is some very slight early evidence for a military Spes, see K. Latte in *RE* 2. 3 (1929) 1634 ff.; for an early example of Spes's military significance in Rome: Plaut. *Merc.* 867 *Spes, Salus, Victoria*.

⁴¹ See R. Stettiner, *Die illustrierten Prudentius-Handschriften*, Tafelband (Berlin 1905). Table 21² has the caption *mirantur virtutes humilitatem in caelum euntem*; London, Brit. Lib. MS. Cotton Cleop. CVIII (table 56¹⁸) has *Humilitas ascendit in caelum, virtutes mirantur*; see also Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 23 (table 55⁷). Table 194 C, however, shows the figure literally climbing steps to heaven with the correct, but later, caption: *virtutes mirantur spem scandentem caelum*.

⁴² See J. M. Burnam, *Commentaire anonyme sur Prudence d'après le manuscrit 413 de Valenciennes* (Paris 1910) 96.

⁴³ *Aen.* 11. 436 *non adeo has exosa manus Victoria fugit*.

⁴⁴ *Met.* 8. 13 *inter utrumque volat dubiis Victoria pinnis* and *Tristia* 2. 169 *Sic adsueta tuis semper Victoria castris / Nunc quoque se praestet nolaque signa petat / Ausoniumque ducem solitis circumvolat alis, / Ponat et in nitida laurea sarta coma*.

⁴⁵ 2. 5. 46 *ecce super fessas volitat victoria puppes / tandem ad Troianas diva superba venit*.

⁴⁶ *Silv.* 5. 3. 145 *Aur alium tetigit Victoria crinem*.

⁴⁷ 15. 737 *ad Rutulos Victoria verteret alas*.

later period come two brief references in Ausonius.⁴⁸ The descriptions of the goddess are consistent. She is invariably winged, and comes to the winning side. This confirms what the Latin panegyricist called the *germana illa pictorum poetarumque commenta* which *Victoriam finxere pinnatam*.⁴⁹

Prudentius's description of Spes flying like Victory includes a detail not found in any earlier poetic descriptions: golden wings (*auratis . . . pinnis*).⁵⁰ To this passage must be compared Prudentius's own description of the statue of Victoria in the Senate House at CS 2. 27 ff. *Aurea quamvis / marmoreo in templo rutilas Victoria pinnas / explicat et multis surgat formata talentis . . .* (33) *Numquam pinnigeram legio ferrata puellam / vidit, anhelantum regeret quae tela virorum*. Here Prudentius describes the actual statue of Victory in the Senate House, a figure that, to judge by common descriptions, must have sported gilded wings.⁵¹ Prudentius ironically ridiculed the statue's wings at CS 2. 259 ff. *Desine terga hominis plumis obducere; frustra / fertur avis mulier magnusque eadem dea vultur*.⁵² For the pagan description of the statue and its golden wings one turns to Claudian: *Affuit ipsa suis ales Victoria templis / Romanae tutela togae; quae divite penna / patricii reverenda fovet sacraria coetus*.⁵³

In the earliest period, allusions to Victoria such as those of Ovid (*Tristia* 2. 169)⁵⁴ were intended to recall the famous statue in the Curia Julia taken from Tarentum and set up by Augustus in thanksgiving for the Battle of Actium. The winged goddess stands poised on a globe with a wreath in her right hand and either a palm or a *vexillum* in the left. The references to Victoria between Augustan times and the 4th century apply not to the actual image in the Senate, but to the neutral epic personification. And again in the 4th century A.D. Victoria, after the dispute over the Altar of Victory, took on a new political significance—this time in pagan-Christian conflict. It is at this point that descriptions of the goddess become again descriptions of the statue.

⁴⁸ VI *Prec.* 33 *hoc mihi praepetibus Victoria nuntiat alis* and *Epigr.* 1. 2 ff. *tu quoque ab aereo praeceps Victoria lapsu / come serenatam duplici diademate frontem / sarta ferens quae dona togae, quae praemia pugnae*.

⁴⁹ *Pan. lat.* 2. 39. 1 *Mynors Recte profecto germana illa pictorum poetarumque commenta Victoriam finxere pinnatam, quod hominum cum fortuna euntium non cursus est, sed volatus*.

⁵⁰ *Psych.* 305.

⁵¹ See also M. R. Alföldi, "Die kaiserzeitlichen Vorgänger des Reichapfels," *Jahrb. Num.* 11 (1961) 21–22 and 28. The continuation of the description (CS 2. 36 ff.) describes a well-known Victory-type *non pexo crine virago / nec nuda suspensa pede strofiisque recincta / nec tumidas fluitante sinu vestita papillas*.

⁵² The goddess, whose flight above the Roman legions should portend victory, is instead assimilated to a carrion bird.

⁵³ 6 *Cons. Hon.* 598 ff.

⁵⁴ See above p. 353.

The Altar of Victory in the Senate House was banished by Gratian in 383.⁵⁵ In 384 Symmachus petitioned Valentinian II to restore it and wrote his famous 3rd *Relatio* on this occasion. A series of intermediate embassies connected with pagan cults are also known. Ambrose, *Ep. extra coll.* 10 to Eugenius, probably written in 393, recounts the failure of a senatorial embassy to Valentinian in 392.⁵⁶ The same epistle then chides the usurper for, while officially denying the request, giving money personally to members of a senatorial *legatio* who had asked for the restoration of pagan cults.⁵⁷ The *Vita Ambrosii* maintains that Eugenius did restore the Altar.⁵⁸ Quodvultdeus and Ambrose attest an embassy of Symmachus to Theodosius.⁵⁹ And it is generally suggested that in 402 Symmachus may again have tried to petition Honorius, because, though ailing,⁶⁰ he was sent on a *legatio* to Milan to Stilicho.⁶¹

The direct evidence that Symmachus's petition had to do with the Altar of Victory consists of Prudentius's *Contra Symmachum*, which was written in 402–3, and is often thought to address a dead issue. I recently have suggested that the poem was not an otiose restatement of Ambrose's and Symmachus's arguments.⁶² The CS began in Sept. 394 as a panegyric of Theodosius, perhaps joined to a diatribe against pagan religion. This work was never published, for in January 395 Theodosius died unexpectedly. Instead CS I was doctored with various passages reflecting works of Claudian written in 399 and 400, and hurriedly re-issued in 402–3 attached to CS 2, which really *does* deal with Symmachus. The very nature of the composition of the CS, the addition of Symmachus, above all, suggest that Symmachus was the reason. He had in fact gone to Milan in the winter of 402 to plead for the restoration of the altar and the statue—thereby causing great anxiety in Christian circles. Thus I found a Prudentius who, in his

⁵⁵ Zosimus 4. 36; A. D. E. Cameron, "Gratian's Repudiation of the Pontifical Robe," *JRS* 58 (1968) 96–99.

⁵⁶ *Ep. extra coll.* 10. p. 207. 45 ff. Zelzer *Iterum Valentiniano augustae memoriae principi legatio a senatu missa intra Gallias nihil extorquere potuit, et certe aberam nec aliquid tunc ad eum scripseram*. For the date see O. Seeck, *Symmachii Opera*, M. G. H., A. A. VI (1883) lviii.

⁵⁷ For the dating see M. Zelzer, *C.S.E.L.* 82, *praef.* lxxxvii. See *Ep. extra coll.* 10, p. 208. 48 ff. Zelzer.

⁵⁸ Paulinus, *Vita Ambrosii* 26. 3 [Eugenius] *Qui ubi imperare coepit, non multum post, petentibus Flaviano tunc praefecto et Arbogaste, comite, aram Victoriae et sumptus caerimoniarum . . . oblitus fidei suae concessit*.

⁵⁹ See O. Seeck, (above, note 56) lviii.

⁶⁰ Symmachus, *Ep.* 5. 96. Symmachus did not respond well to the cold in Milan.

⁶¹ Symmachus, *Ep.* 4. 9 tells us that the *necessitas patriae* and *auxilium tui* (Stilichonis) *culminis* pushed him to act the part of ambassador. *Ep.* 5. 94 refers to the mission as *legationis officium* . . . *superest, ut proposito religionis tuae melior adspiret eventus et tibi in posterum competens decus pro tanto in patriam labore respondeat*. *Ep.* 5. 95 is perhaps the most explicit: *Mediolanum sum missus a patribus ad exorandum divini principis opem, quam communis patriae sollicitudo poscebat. Celerem mihi reditum praefata dei venia res prosperae pollicentur*.

⁶² See D. R. Shanzer, "The Date and Composition of Prudentius's *Libri contra orationem Symmachii*," *RFIC* forthcoming. The remainder of this paragraph briefly summarises this article.

own way, was no less an occasional poet than Claudian—on occasion. Prudentius's satirical description of the *non pexo crine virago / nec nudo suspenso pede strofioque recincta / nec tumidas fluitante sinu vestita papilla* reflects the all-too contemporary issue of whether to admit the personification of Victory to a Christian battlefield.⁶³ In 384 Symmachus had asked, *quis ita familiaris est barbaris ut aram victoriae non requirat?*⁶⁴ The question was even more valid in 402. The Milan mint had found it necessary to launder its Victory by giving her an orb *with a cross* after 388.⁶⁵ Little has been made of the reference to the Victoria Romana in the *HA, Vit. Sev. 14. 2 pater eadem nocte in somnis vidit alis se Romanae Victoriae, quae in senatu, ad caelum vehi*, but it is almost certainly some sort of topical allusion on the part of the prankster.⁶⁶ The personification was not dead, and Victory was a concern to Prudentius in 402, and clearly no less so sometime after 405, perhaps after a restoration of the statue attested by Claudian's *6 Cons. Hon.*⁶⁷ He did not allow Victoria to appear in the *Psych.* He substituted a permuted form of her image.

Spes did not appear on the coinage of this period, but Victory had with the inscription, "Spes Romanorum."⁶⁸ These coins had been minted in Aquileia and Rome at the time of Eugenius's usurpation. The message is clear: Victory is the Hope of the Romans. The image in Prudentius can be seen as a reversal of the numismatic propaganda: "Spes Victoria Christianorum." In his panegyric on the 6th Consulate of Honorius,⁶⁹ which dates to 404, Claudian juxtaposed Hope and Victory: the advent of the Emperor in the newly-fortified⁷⁰ Rome to celebrate his Gothic triumphs was a cosmic event: *Haud aliter Latiae sublimis Signifer aulae, / imperii sidus propria cum sede locavit, / auget spes Italas; et certius omina surgunt / victrici concepta solo.* Here is the classical Roman Spes, her flower a symbol of growth, with words like *augere, surgunt, concepta*, and *solo* in the immediate context. In January 404 Victory had given birth to the pagan Hope with her promise of growth on earth.

Something had changed between 402/04 and the time of the *Psych.* The tone of the *CS* is sanguine. A major battle had just been won against the Goths, and Prudentius revelled in Christian Victory and blood-thirsty injunctions to suspend captive spoils.⁷¹ Instead here Christian Hope, whose

⁶³ Prud. *CS* 2. 36–38.

⁶⁴ *Ref.* 3. 3.

⁶⁵ O. Ulrich-Bansa, *Moneta Mediolanensis (353–498)* (Venice 1949) 101; M. R. Alföldi (above, note 51) 30 ff.; T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana* (Mainz 1967) 30–31.

⁶⁶ For his activities see Sir Ronald Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (Oxford 1968) *passim*.

⁶⁷ *6 Cons. Hon.* 597 *adluit ipsa suis ales Victoria templis.*

⁶⁸ H. Mattingly, *RIC* 9, p. 107 (Aquileia 393/95) and p. 134 (393/94 Rome).

⁶⁹ Claud. *6 Cons. Hon.* 22 ff.

⁷⁰ Claud. *6 Cons. Hon.* 531.

⁷¹ *CS* 2. 62.

home is in heaven,⁷² not Victory, is the reward of victors who have conquered.⁷³ Like Justice she flies away to heaven.⁷⁴ The Virtues wish to follow, but cannot because they are detained by *bella terrena*.⁷⁵ The reward of war is no longer in this world, and Prudentius's substitution of Hope for Victory suggests that he wrote after 404, during times of military setback.

* * *

At least one scholar denied that Prudentius's work reflected the contemporary invasions,⁷⁶ but one can outline a variety of brief observations, mostly details and puzzles in the *Psychomachia* that may reflect aspects of the external reality of the barbarian invasions. Many of the deaths of the Vices seem to recall those of miscreants from the pages of Claudian: Arbogast,⁷⁷ Leo,⁷⁸ Rufinus.⁷⁹ Some of the colouring of the *Psych.* may be topical. Luxuria, who comes, mysteriously,⁸⁰ from the West,⁸¹ *occiduis mundi de finibus*, bears an uncanny resemblance to Gildo as described by Claudian.⁸²

⁷² Col. 1. 5.

⁷³ 6 Cons. Hon. 601–02 had presented the sanguine promise of eternal victory: *atque omne futurum / te Romae seseque tibi promittit in aevum*.

⁷⁴ In CS 2. 907 ff., perhaps following Romans 5. 2, Spes provides immediate guidance on earth to the Christian: *spem sequimur gradimurque fide fruimurque futuris / ad quae non veniunt praesentis gaudia vitae*.

⁷⁵ Psych. 306.

⁷⁶ F. Paschoud, *Roma Aeterna: Études sur le patriotisme romain dans l'Occident latin à l'époque des grandes invasions* (Rome 1967) 231, "De ces dangers, Prudence n'en parle guère; ce n'est ni par ignorance, ni par inconscience: sa haine du Barbare ne peut être que le résultat de son inquiétude; s'il n'en dit mot, c'est d'abord que ces poèmes ne se prêtaient guère à de telles allusions . . . c'est enfin que son oeuvre a été écrit au moment où les succès de Stilicon semblaient assurer à l'Empire une certaine stabilité; elle est achevée avant l'apparition des prodromes de la terreur de 410."

⁷⁷ Psych. 160 *Ipsa sibi est hostis vaesania seque furendo / interimit moriturque suis Ira ignea telis* followed by Patientia's departure at 162 *Haec effata secat medias impune cohortes* is similar to Claudian's 3 Cons. Hon. 104 *et ultrices in se converterat iras* followed by 3 Cons. Hon. 112 (of Honorius) *Inter barbaricas ausus transire cohortes*.

⁷⁸ Psych. 262 ff. *hostili de parte latens, ut fossa ruentes / exciperet cuneos atque agmina mersa voraret* describes the pit dug by Fraus into which Superbia falls. The episode is similar to the defeat of Leo, the boaster (*Eutrop.* 2. 380 *linguae iactor*) at the hands of Tribigild's troops, another instance of *fraus* where soliders fall into the bog: *Eutrop.* 2. 438 *ast alios vicina palus sine more ruentes / excipit et cumulis immanibus aggerat undas*.

⁷⁹ The *sparagmos* at Psych. 719 ff. may be compared to *In Ruf.* 2. 405–27.

⁸⁰ Contrast the traditional position of Cic. *Pro Murena* 5. 12 *Et si habet Asia suspicionem luxuriae quandam, non Asiam numquam vidisse, sed in Asia continenter vixisse laudandum est*.

⁸¹ C. Gnlika, *Studien zur Psychomachie des Prudentius* (Wiesbaden 1963) 40 believes that the West is the evil kingdom of the setting sun (following Bergman, [above, note 1] 32) or that West and East may be entirely relative to the geographical position of the author. But *occiduis . . . de finibus* does not have to mean "western limits or westernmost confines;" it could equally well mean "western regions."

⁸² *Gild.* 444 ff. *umbratus dux ipse rosis et marcidus ibit / unguentis crudusque cibo titubansque Lyaeo* is close to Psych. 316 *Ac tunc pervigilem ructabat marcida cenam* and Psych.

Avaritia who is called *mendax Bellona*⁸³ disguises herself the way Claudian's real Bellona dressed as Tribigild's barbarian wife.⁸⁴ Prudentius alludes with distaste to the fact that Avarice had attacked even priests, who fight in the front-line of the allegorical battle.⁸⁵ There is a curious passage on plundering.⁸⁶ Striking too are barbarians like Ira, the *barbara bellatrix*⁸⁷ and Superbia with her fur-clad mount, who first incited Man to wear *pellitos habitus*.⁸⁸ In *Genesis* Adam and Eve fashioned their own *perizomata* made of fig-leaves and were then given *tunicas pelliceas* by God.⁸⁹ Prudentius has fairly representative opinions about barbarians: they may not have butter in their hair⁹⁰ and hair on their teeth, but in his CS 2.816 ff. he declares that the barbarian differs as much from the Roman as the four-legged from the two-legged animal.⁹¹ They looked different: a barbarian is *armis veste comisque ignotus*.⁹² The overwhelming numbers of barbarians in the Roman armies had already been a source of trouble for some time. Ammianus is anti-German.⁹³ Northerners had their uses: frightening Africans, for example, as Claudian observed.⁹⁴ But desertions might often

326 *sed violas lasciva iacit folisque rosarum / dimicat*. Even more striking is the wakening by the trumpet: *Psych.* 317 ff. *sub lucem quia forte iacens ad fercula raucos / audierat lituos . . . ebria calcatis ad bellum floribus ibat* and *Gild.* 447 *excitet incestos turmalis bucina somnos, inploret cūharas catatricesque choreas / offensus stridore tubae . . .* Such an awakening is typical of the real soldier, see *Cic. Pro Murena* 9.22 *te gallorum, illum bucinarum cantus exsuscitat*.

⁸³ *Psych.* 557 *Huius se specie mendax Bellona coapat*.

⁸⁴ *Eutr.* 2.182 *mentitoque ferox incedit barbara gressu*.

⁸⁵ *Psych.* 497 ff. *Quin ipsos templat manu, si credere dignum est / ausa sacerdotes domini, qui proelia forte / ductores primam ante aciem pro laude gerebant / virtutum magnoque inplebant classica flatu*. Bergman (above, note 1) *ad loc.* believes that this refers to the Priests of the Jews who blew down the walls of Jericho in *Jos.* 6. This is unlikely for there is no hint that *avaritia* inspired them, and it is inconceivable that Prudentius would have used the insinuating *si credere dignum est* about the Bible. More tantalising is Bergman's vague reference to Sulpicius Severus on the priests of Prudentius's own times. Roesler (above, note 1) 219–20 cites Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* 1.23 and *Chron.* 2.41 on the avarice of *sacerdotes*. Roesler's attention (pp. 217–18) to details of the attack of Heresy, her wounding *vix in cute summa* and the phrase at 795 ff. *quamvis de corpore summo* indicating corruption only in the top ranks is praiseworthy. These are deliberate contemporary allusions on Prudentius's part.

⁸⁶ *Psych.* 470 ff. may reflect topical issues. Compare Claudian, *Poll.* 604 ff. *Vv.* 606–07 *et caedis avarus/contemptus proculcat opes* suggest that the Roman armies had plundered.

⁸⁷ *Psych.* 133.

⁸⁸ *Psych.* 179 *effreni volitabat equo, quem pelle leonis / texerat et validos villis oneraverat armos* and *Psych.* 226 *pellitosque habitus sumpsit venerabilis Adam*.

⁸⁹ *Gen.* 3.7 and 3.21 for the *tunicas pelliceas* made by God. The point is that to Superbia the skins or furs are an improvement.

⁹⁰ *Sid. Carm.* 12.7 *infundens acido comam butyro*.

⁹¹ *CS* 2.816–17.

⁹² *CS* 2.694.

⁹³ W. Enßlin, *Zur Geschichtsschreibung und Weltanschauung des Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Klio Beiheft* 16 (1923) 30–33.

⁹⁴ *Gild.* 1.372.

occur, as in the case of members of Eutropius's campaign who went over to the side of the Ostrogoth Tribigild and caused the defeat of Leo's forces in the spring of 399. Goths might make secret agreements among themselves: Gainas's deal with Tribigild was a case in point. Anti-German sentiment surfaced earlier in the East than in the West, but eventually much criticism was levelled at Stilicho for his lenient treatment of Alaric. Some considered him a traitor. Claudian's panegyrics do their best to dispel such notions.⁹⁵ After 417 Rutilius Namatianus accused Stilicho of having opened Rome to the skin-clad ministers of evil: *ipsa satellitibus pelliis Roma patebat*.⁹⁶

With this in mind it is worth reexamining the imagery of the preface to the *Psychomachia*. Prudentius begins by exhorting us to fight with the *profanae gentes*.⁹⁷ By chance fierce kings happened to capture Lot and conquer him as he tarried in the wicked cities of Sodom and Gomorrah.⁹⁸ They forced him to serve the harsh chains of the barbarians.⁹⁹ Abraham, with the aid of his *vernulae*, came and rescued Lot.¹⁰⁰ This myth from Genesis is interpreted as an encouragement to be vigilant and to use the home-forces, our many home-born slaves, in our internal fight against any part of our body that is slave to foul desires.¹⁰¹ The allegory begins with a Biblical passage and is given an explicit psychological interpretation. But the language and the imagery is that of Prudentius's own times, of invasion by foreigners. The words to underline, *barbari*, *profanae* and *feroces*, do not feature in *Gen.* 14. Is this relatively obscure myth involving repulsion of foreign enemies with *home-born* forces chosen because of actual problems with the constitution of the Roman army?¹⁰² It is possible. The story of Lot and his second departure from the twin cities was about to become a painful topic a year or so later: Pope Innocent who was absent when Alaric entered Rome would be compared to him by the apologists, Orosius and Augustine.¹⁰³

Such imagery is not confined to the preface. After the end of the battle Concordia addresses her troops: *Extincta est multo certamine saeva / barbaries, sanctae quae circumsaepserat urbis / indigenas ferroque viros flammaque premebat*.¹⁰⁴ This is a clear description of the siege of a city to

⁹⁵ Such criticism is met by 6 *Cons. Hon.* 301 ff.

⁹⁶ *De Reditu suo* 2. 49.

⁹⁷ *Psych. praef.* 9 *pugnare nosmet cum profanis gentibus*.

⁹⁸ *Psych. praef.* 15 ff. *Victum feroces forte reges ceperant / Loth immorantem criminosis urbibus / Sodom et Gomorrae*.

⁹⁹ *Psych. praef.* 21 *servire duris barbarorum vinculis*.

¹⁰⁰ *Psych. praef.* 22.

¹⁰¹ *Psych. praef.* 50–54 *domi coactis liberandam viribus, nos esse large vernularum divites*.

¹⁰² See Enßlin (above, note 93) 32–33 especially citing Amm. 31. 16. 8 *Romanos omnes (quod his temporibus raro contingit) universos . . . mandavit occidi*. For a more optimistic point of view see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* I (Baltimore 1986) 621.

¹⁰³ Orosius 7. 39. 2; Aug. *Serm. de Urbis excidio*, PL 40. 718.

¹⁰⁴ *Psych.* 752 ff. This passage is cited by Fontaine (above, note 7) 209 n. 412 as an unquestionable evocation of contemporary reality.

which one should compare Rome's own triumphant speech from CS 2. 692 *nullus me barbarus hostis / cuspide claustra quatit*. The imagery of the city persists at *Psych.* 816 ff. *Nam quid terrigenas ferro pepulisse falangas / culparum prodest, hominis si filius arce / aetheris inlapsus purgati corporis urbem / intret inornatum templi splendentis egenus?* It would appear that Prudentius carefully insists on the Roman colouring of his Temple of Sapientia: at the top of its gates, inscribed on the posts, gleam the twelve names of the apostolic *Senate*.¹⁰⁵ Prudentius was thinking of Rome, and furthermore of Rome in a state of embattlement at a time of direct military threat to the city.¹⁰⁶

We may eliminate Alaric's successful invasion of August 410. Had Prudentius written after 410, he would unquestionably have alluded explicitly to the Fall of Rome. He does not. Radagaisus's unsuccessful invasion of 405, followed by his defeat by Stilicho at Fiesole in August 406 may also be eliminated. Rome was not directly threatened, and it is temporally too close to the date of the preface.

Instead I would suggest 408/09, a time of strong anti-barbarian sentiment leading up to and following the execution of Stilicho in August 408.¹⁰⁷ Later that autumn Alaric was at the gates of Rome. Panic ensued and much debate about whether the pagan gods had deserted the city. The more orthodox Christian party then in power was forced to give way, a German *Comes domesticorum* was chosen,¹⁰⁸ and Honorius was forced to repeal the law of 14 Nov. 408 which allowed only orthodox Christians to hold palace office.¹⁰⁹ The *Psychomachia*'s special warning about the secret threat of heresy after peace appears to have supervened *may* have been prompted by this apparently backsliding legislation of Honorius. One might also consider *causes célèbres* like the Arian baptism of the pagan Count of the Sacred Largesses, Priscus Attalus who was used as a puppet usurper by the Goths.¹¹⁰ Prudentius explicitly alludes to Arius.¹¹¹ Could the vivid dismemberment of Discordia recall the death of Gabinus Barbarus Pompeianus, pagan Urban Prefect in 408/09 who was torn apart during a bread-riot?¹¹² In order to pay the enormous ransom demanded by Alaric the Romans were compelled to strip the ornaments of their statues, and in the

¹⁰⁵ *Psych.* 838 *Portarum summis inscripta in postibus auro / nomina apostolici fulgent bis sena senatus*.

¹⁰⁶ *Ham.* 390 ff. (pre-405) which describes the Devil's mustering of the sins in the human body, and which can be seen as a preliminary version of the imagery to be used in the *Psych.* significantly does not employ the image of the embattled city.

¹⁰⁷ For an account of events leading to Stilicho's fall, see E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* I (Amsterdam 1968) 252–54.

¹⁰⁸ *PLRE* 2 Allobichus; see Stein (previous note) 256.

¹⁰⁹ Zosimus 5. 41. 6 ff. *Cod. Theod.* 16. 5. 42 and 16. 5. 51.

¹¹⁰ Sozomen 9. 9; *PLRE* 2 Priscus Attalus 2.

¹¹¹ *Psych.* 794.

¹¹² *Vit. Sancti. Melaniae Gr.* 19 (ed. H. Delehaye, *Anal. Boll.* 22 [1903] 1–50) καὶ οὕτως ἐλκόμενος ἐφονεύσθη ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως.

case of gold or silver ones, melt them down. The kings attacked by Abraham when rescuing Lot are described as *mole praedarum graves* (*Psych. praef.* 27), a detail missing from *Genesis*, and hence probably a significant embroidering on Prudentius's part. Zosimus attributes the disasters to the melting down of the statue of Virtus itself.¹¹³ Is it too fanciful to suggest that Prudentius's elaborate construction of the temple of Sapientia using riches like "an enormous pearl worth a thousand talents which brave Faith had obtained"¹¹⁴ is a spiritual consolation for the riches lost from the buildings of the city?

Part of the imagery of the *Psych.*, that of the interior battle, has Latin precedents in Tertullian, Cyprian and Ambrose.¹¹⁵ The other central image, that of the temple of the mind, was likewise not unknown to previous writers.¹¹⁶ God, according to Prudentius, loved the temple of the mind, not one of marble.¹¹⁷ Despite lack of generic and religious affinities, Prudentius followed the work of his contemporary Claudian very closely.¹¹⁸ The opening of *Stil.* 2 features an extended panegyric metaphor. Clementia reigns in Stilicho: The goddess enjoys him as her temple and her altar warm with incense. She has made her seat in his heart.¹¹⁹ . . . Her sister Fides too, making her shrine in his breast, takes part in all his acts.¹²⁰ The opening of the panegyric goes on to describe how all the goddesses who dispel crimes with pure lips dwell all together in his heart, Justice, Patience, and Prudence, while the wicked monsters of Tartarus are put to flight: Avaritia, Luxuria, and Superbia.¹²¹ The resemblance of the passage is striking; notable also is the leading role played by Fides, who also leads the Virtues in the *Psychomachia*. The birth of a poem is often elusive, but here it would appear that Prudentius was thinking of the Virtues using the person of Stilicho as their living temple—perhaps following Stilicho's death and the realisation that he alone could have staved off Alaric. The conjunction of both the temple of the mind and the Virtues and Vices make Claudian the most probable source.¹²² In the face of growing disillusionment with actual

¹¹³ Zos. 5. 41. 6 ff.

¹¹⁴ *Mille talentis / margaritum ingens opibusque et censibus hastae / addictis animosa Fides mercata pararet.*

¹¹⁵ See Gnllka (above, note 81) 9 and Fontaine (above, note 7) 206.

¹¹⁶ For the history of this metaphor see Gnllka (above, note 81) 83 ff.

¹¹⁷ *CS* 2. 249.

¹¹⁸ For more on this see D. R. Shanzer, "The Date and Composition of Prudentius's *Libri contra orationem Symmachi*," *RFIC* (forthcoming).

¹¹⁹ *Stil.* 2. 12–13.

¹²⁰ *Stil.* 2. 30 ff.

¹²¹ *Stil.* 2. 100 ff.

¹²² U. Keudel, *Poetische Vorläufer und Vorbilder in Claudians De Consolatu Stilichonis* (Göttingen 1970) 63 is oddly skeptical about any direct relationship between the two passages. In favour of a connection, however, is the absence of the temple of the mind from two other aborted Virtue-catalogues, *Man. Theod.* 166–73 and *6 Cons. Hon.* 584–86. The presence of both the temple and the Virtues in *Stil.* and *Psych.* suggests a direct relationship.

fighting and despair of external victory, Prudentius performed a characteristically Christian psychological manoeuvre. He moved the battle to another field: he made it an interior and a moral one. He substituted Hope for Victory. He built, not a new and rich Senate-House, but a Temple adorned with apocalyptic gems patterned both on Solomon's Temple and on the Heavenly Jerusalem. His thought does not differ greatly from that of Augustine who used the fall of the earthly city of Rome to develop his theology of the heavenly city projected into a better future.

One of Prudentius's *Tituli Historiarum*, again written after 405, may reemphasise the point:

Aedificat templum Sapientia per Solomonis
Obsequium; regina austri grave congerit aurum
Tempus adest quo *templum hominis sub pectore* Christus
*Aedificet, quod Graia colant, quod barbara dñent.*¹²³

The Queen of the South brought foreign riches to Solomon's temple of Wisdom. Now *in our times*, as Prudentius emphasises, Christ builds the temple in order that the pagans may worship and barbarians bring riches to it. It is unlikely that the emphatically Roman Prudentius would have used *Graia* and *barbara* from the Greek point of view to denote the civilised world.¹²⁴ Prudentius has carefully separated pagans and barbarians, his two main adversaries. This apparently Italian and Roman milieu for the *Psychomachia* need not cause surprise. Prudentius's journey to Rome took place after 399, the *Contra Symmachum* suggests that he was there in 402/03, and there is no evidence that he returned to his home-province.¹²⁵

Finally some *Rezeptionsgeschichte*. Few read Prudentius at the beginning of the 5th century,¹²⁶ but St. Augustine was one of them. He provides perhaps the first *testimonium* for the *Psychomachia* in the 19th Book of the *City of God*.¹²⁷ He says *Sed neque sancti et fideles unius veri Dei summique cultores ab eorum fallaciis et multiforimi temptatione securi sunt. In hoc enim loco infirmitatis et diebus malignis etiam ista sollicitudo non est inutilis, ut illa securitas ubi pax plenissima atque certissima est, desiderio ferventiore queratur . . . ibi virtutes, non contra ulla vitia vel mala quaecumque certantes, sed habentes victoriae praemium aeternam pacem,*

¹²³ Prud. *TH* 81–84.

¹²⁴ Gnllka (above, note 81) 127 n. 5 points to *Rom.* 1. 14, Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 12. 120. 2 and Eus. *HE* 10. 4. 20, and is followed by R. Pillinger, *Die Tituli Historiarum oder das sogenannte Dittochaeon des Prudentius* (Wien 1980) 61–62, but in this period even Ammianus, himself a Greek, never used the word *barbarus* of the Persians. It was reserved almost exclusively for Germanic barbarians: see Enßlin (above, note 93) 33.

¹²⁵ See Shanzer (above, note 62) n. 83.

¹²⁶ Bergman (above, note 1) xxix starts his list of testimonia with Avitus. No one appears to have noticed Claud. Mam. 1. 3, p. 32. 6 ff. Engelbrecht *unde iucundissimis Asclepiadeis lusit poeta notissimus: abstentemque diem lux agūt aemula / quam nox cum lacero victa fugit peplo* (= *Cath.* 5. 27–28).

¹²⁷ *CD* 19. 10, p. 370. 6–18 Dombart.

quam nullus adversarius inquietet. Augustine's Virtues had found serenity in the other world, in Jerusalem, the vision of peace,¹²⁸ not in this vale of woe, where we have but little peace.¹²⁹ Maximus, Bishop of Turin, who died some time between 408 and 423 wrote a sermon *de tumultis bellicosus* in which he speaks in vague terms of the evil times and wars that beset us. The arguments, however, have a familiar ring: *Cernimus armari civitatis portas, debemus etiam prius in nobis portas armare iustitiae . . . Tunc autem civitatis porta munita esse poterit, si prius in nobis porta iustitiae muniatur;—ceterum nihil prodest muros munire propugnaculis et deum provocare peccatis. Illa enim construitur ferro saxis et sudibus, haec armetur misericordia innocentia castitate . . .*¹³⁰ David, as in the battle against Superbia, is again used as an example of Fides who overthrew the gentile unarmed.¹³¹ He perorates, *Ergo, fratres, propter mundi iudicium armis nos caelestibus muniamus, accingamur lorica fidei salutis galea protegamur verbo dei velut spiritali gladio defendamur.*¹³² . . . *Non in armis tantum speranda victoria est sed in nomine salvatoris oranda.*¹³³ Thus there may well have been ancient writers who read the new "interiorisation" of the *Psychomachia* as Christian advice to devote military energies to the *internal* struggle in times of war against the barbarians.

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¹²⁸ CD 19. 11, p. 371. 15 Dombart.

¹²⁹ CD 19. 10 *Hic autem dicimur beati, quando pacem habemus quantulumcumque hic haberi potest in vita bona, sed haec beatitudo illi, quam finalem dicimus, beatitudini comparata prorsus miseria reperitur.*

¹³⁰ *Serm.* 85. 2, p. 348. 27 ff. Mutzenbecher (CC 23)

¹³¹ *Ibid.* p. 349. 45 ff.

¹³² *Ibid.* p. 349. 40 ff.

¹³³ *Ibid.* p. 349. 40 ff. and p. 350. 71 ff.

